

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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ACDE-00 /026 W

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P R 101700Z MAR 76

FM USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2975

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USMISSION NATO

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 SALT TWO GENEVA 0051

EXDIS/SALT

DEPT ALSO PASS DOD

SPECAT EXCLUSIVE FOR SECDEF

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PARM

SUBJECT: MR. KARPOV'S STATEMENT OF MARCH 10, 1976 (SALT TWO-933)

THE FOLLOWING IS STATEMENT DELIVERED BY MR. KARPOV AT
THE SALT TWO MEETING OF MARCH 10, 1976.

KARPOV STATEMENT, MARCH 10, 1976

I

THE QUESTION OF CERTAIN PROVISIONS OF THE NEW AGREEMENT,
NOT INCONSISTENT WITH THE PROVISIONS OF THE INTERIM AGREEMENT,
BECOMING EFFECTIVE UPON ENTRY INTO FORCE OF THE AGREEMENT
BEING WORKED OUT, IS OF SUBSTANTIAL IMPORTANCE IN TERMS OF
ACHIEVING THE GOALS THE SIDES ARE PURSUING IN CONDUCTING
NEGOTIATIONS AIMED AT CONCLUDING THE NEW AGREEMENT ON THE
LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS.

AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE BETWEEN THE SIDES WITH RESPECT
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TO THIS QUESTION IS RECORDED IN THE DRAFT, IN ARTICLE XIXOO

PAR. 1, THE TEXT OF WHICH IS AGREED UPON AD REFERENDUM TO GOVERNMENTS.

MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN THE SIDES HAS ALSO BECOME APPARENT WITH RESPECT TO THE FORM OF THE OFFICIAL DOCUMENT WHICH, IN ACCORDANCE WITH ARTICLE XIX, PAR. 1, WOULD BRING INTO EFFECT, UPON ENTRY INTO FORCE OF THE AGREEMENT BEING WORKED OUT, ITS SPECIFIC PROVISIONS NOT INCONSISTENT WITH THE PROVISIONS OF THE INTERIM AGREEMENT. THE SIDES PROCEED FROM THE PREMISE THAT SUCH A DOCUMENT WILL TAKE THE FORM OF A PROTOCOL WHICH, BEING AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE NEW AGREEMENT, WOULD BE SIGNED SIMULTANEOUSLY WITH THE SIGNING OF THE NEW AGREEMENT.

IT FOLLOWS FROM THE STATEMENTS OF THE USSR AND U.S. DELEGATIONS AT THE MEETINGS OF FEBRUARY 10 AND 18, 1976 THAT THE DELEGATIONS AGREE THAT AN UNDERSTANDING ON SPECIFICALLY WHICH PROVISIONS WOULD BECOME EFFECTIVE UPON ENTRY INTO FORCE OF THE NEW AGREEMENT COULD BE ACHIEVED WHEN REACHING AGREEMENT ON THE CONTENT OF THE DRAFT DOCUMENT BEING WORKED OUT.

IN THE DRAFTING WORKING GROUP THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE SIDES, ON THE BASIS OF EXISTING MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING ON THE RELEVANT MATTERS, HAVE DONE PRODUCTIVE WORK IN AGREEING UPON THE SPECIFIC WORKING OF THE PROTOCOL IN CONNECTION WITH ARTICLE XIX, PAR. 1.

ON THE BASIS OF THE RESULTS OF THE WORK ON THIS QUESTION, THE USSR DELEGATION PROPOSES THAT THE DRAFT TEXT OF THE PROTOCOL IN CONNECTION WITH ARTICLE XIX, PAR. 1, BE CONSIDERED AGREED UPON AD REFERENDUM TO GOVERNMENT.

(TEXT IS READ AND HANDED OVER).

IN THIS CONNECTION, WE PROCEED FROM THE PREMISE THAT THE TEXT OF THE PROTOCOL IN CONNECTION WITH ARTICLE XIX, PAR. 1, WILL SUBSEQUENTLY INCLUDE A LIST OF THE PROVISIONS BEING BROUGHT INTO EFFECT BY THAT PROTOCOL UPON ENTRY INTO FORCE OF THE NEW AGREEMENT, PROVISIONS CONCERNING WHICH AN
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UNDERSTANDING WILL BE REACHED WHEN AGREEING UPON THE CONTENT OF THE DRAFT AGREEMENT BEING WORKED OUT.

THE USSR DELEGATION BELIEVES THAT REACHING AN UNDERSTANDING ON THE WORDING OF THE DRAFT TEXT OF THE PROTOCOL IN CONNECTION WITH ARTICLE XIX, PAR. 1, WOULD CONSTITUTE A SUBSTANTIAL STEP IN THE CONTEXT OF ENSURING FURTHER PROGRESS IN WORKING OUT THE JOINT DRAFT OF THE NEW AGREEMENT

IN ITS ENTIRETY.

II

MR. AMBASSADOR,

AT THE FEBRUARY 3, 1976 MEETING THE USSR DELEGATION
TABLED A NEW CONSTRUCTIVE PROPOSAL, IN CONNECTION WITH
THE WORDING OF ARTICLE XVI, PAR. 3, DEALING WITH THE QUESTION
OF WORKING OUT A COMMON UNDERSTANDING OF THE SIDES REGARDING
DELIBERATE CONCEALMENT MEASURE.

AS YOU KNOW, THE SIDES ARE AGREED THAT VERIFICATION
OF COMPLIANCE WITH THE PROVISIONS OF THE AGREEMENT BEING
WORKED OUT WILL BE CARRIED OUT BY THE NATIONAL TECHNICAL
MEANS AT THE DISPOSAL OF THE SIDES. THERE IS ALSO AGREEMENT
NOT TO INTERFERE WITH NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS OF VERIFICA-
TION CARRYING OUT THEIR FUNCTIONS. MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING
ON THIS SCORE IS APPROPRIATELY REFLECTED IN THE TEXT OF
ARTICLE XVI, THE PROVISIONS OF WHICH, EXCEPT FOR PART OF
ITS PARAGRAPH 3, ARE AGREED UPON.

AGREEMENT ON THESE QUESTIONS OF PRINCIPLE CONSTITUTES
THE BASIS FOR ALSO REACHING AN UNDERSTANDING ON THE FORMULA-
TION DEALING WITH DELIBERATE CONCEALMENT MEASURES.

HAVING TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT THE DESIRE EXPRESSED BY
THE U.S. SIDE IN THE COURSE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS, THE USSR
DELEGATION HAS STATED ITS CONSENT TO HAVING THE WORDING OF
THE COMMON UNDERSTANDING OF DELIBERATE CONCEALMENT MEASURES
ADOPTED IN THE FORM OF AN AGREED STATEMENT OF THE SIDES.

TO ENSURE PROGRESS IN OUR WORK, THE USSR DELEGATION
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TABLED A CORRESPONDING PROPOSAL ON THE WORDING OF THIS
AGREED STATEMENT WITH MODIFICATIONS TO MEET THE CONSIDERA-
TIONS EXPRESSED HERE.

THE PROPOSAL TABLED BY THE USSR DELEGATION PROVIDES
THAT DELIBERATE CONCEALMENT MEASURES ARE SPECIAL MEASURES
FOR HIDING OR CAMOUFLAGING, CARRIED OUT DELIBERATELY TO
HINDER OR DELIBERATELY TO IMPEDE VERIFICATION BY NATIONAL
TECHNICAL MEANS OF COMPLIANCE WITH THE OBLIGATIONS PROVIDED
FOR IN THE AGREEMENT BEING WORKED OUT.

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ACTION SS-25

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USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 SALT TWO GENEVA 0051

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THE PROPOSAL TABLED ENSURES THAT THE ESSENCE AND NATURE OF THOSE MEASURES WHICH WOULD BE DELIBERATE CONCEALMENT MEASURES IS FULLY AND CLEARLY SHOWN, AND AT THE SAME TIME PRECLUDES THE POSSIBILITY OF AN UNJUSTIFIABLY EXPANDED INTERPRETATION OF THIS CONCEPT TO THE DETRIMENT OF THE GOALS AND PURPOSES OF THE AGREEMENT BEING PREPARED.

THUS, THE WORDING PROPOSED BY THE USSR DELEGATION PROVIDES A CLEAR-CUT ANSWER TO THE QUESTION OF WHAT UNDER THE NEW AGREEMENT WOULD BE UNDERSTOOD BY DELIBERATE CONCEALMENT MEASURES WHICH, UNDER ARTICLE XVI, PAR.3, THE SIDES UNDERTAKE NOT USE.

IN THIS CONNECTION, THE SOVIET SIDE, OF COURSE, PROCEEDS FROM THE PREMISE THAT THE PROVISIONS OF ARTICLE XVI, INCLUDING THOSE OF ITS PARAGRAPH 3 AS WELL, AND CONSEQUENTLY OF THE JOINT STATEMENT ON DELIBERATE CONCEALMENT MEASURES, WHICH IS BEING WORKED OUT, WILL APPLY TO ALL THE NEW AGREEMENT'S PROVISIONS, COMPLIANCE WITH WHOSE OBLIGATIONS

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WILL BE VERIFIED BY NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS OF VERIFICATION. IN THIS CONNECTION, THE DRAFT BEING WORKED OUT PROVIDES FOR NO EXCEPTIONS.

IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE OBLIGATION NOT TO INTERFERE WITH THE NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS OF VERIFICATION OF THE OTHER SIDE, THE OBLIGATION NOT TO USE DELIBERATE CONCEALMENT MEASURES, UNDERSTOOD TO BE SPECIAL MEASURES FOR HIDING OR CAMOUFLAGING, CARRIED OUT DELIBERATELY TO HINDER OR TO IMPEDE VERIFICATION BY NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS OF COMPLIANCE WITH THE OBLIGATIONS PROVIDED FOR UNDER THE NEW AGREEMENT, WOULD CREATE THE NECESSARY CONDITIONS FOR NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS TO CARRY OUT THEIR FUNCTIONS IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PROVISIONS OF ARTICLE XVI AND WOULD THEREBY CONTRIBUTE TO PROVIDING THE SIDES WITH ASSURANCE OF COMPLIANCE WITH THE OBLIGATIONS BEING ESTABLISHED UNDER THE NEW AGREEMENT.

I HOPE THAT THE CONSIDERATIONS EXPRESSED BY THE USSR DELEGATION IN CONNECTION WITH THE SOVIET PROPOSAL FOR THE WORDING WITH RESPECT TO DELIBERATE CONCEALMENT MEASURES WILL CONTRIBUTE TO ACHIEVING AN OVERALL, MUTUALLY AGREED SOLUTION FOR ARTICLE XVI, PAR. 3.

OFFICIAL TRANSLATION DRAFT

P R O T O C O L

TO THE AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST
REPUBLICS AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA ON THE
LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS

THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS AND THE UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA, HEREINAFTER REFERRED TO AS THE PARTIES,
ATTACHING PARTICULAR SIGNIFICANCE TO THE LIMITATION OF
STRATEGIC ARMS AND CONVINCED THAT THE COMING INTO EFFECT, FROM
THE DATE OF ENTRY INTO FORCE OF THE AGREEMENT ON THE LIMITATION
OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS, HEREINAFTER REFERRED TO AS THE
AGREEMENT, OF THE FOLLOWING SPECIFIC PROVISIONS OF THE AGREEMENT
WILL PROMOTE THESE OBJECTIVES,

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HAVE AGREED AS FOLLOWS:

IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PROVISIONS OF PARAGRAPH 1 OF
ARTICLE XIX, ON THE DAY OF THE EXCHANGE OF INSTRUMENTS OF
APPROVAL OF THE AGREEMENT BY THE PARTIES, THE PROVISIONS OF
THE FOLLOWING ARTICLES OF THE AGREEMENT, NOT INCONSISTENT WITH

THE PROVISIONS OF THE INTERIM AGREEMENT ON CERTAIN MEASURES
WITH RESPECT TO THE LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS
OF MAY 26, 1972, SHALL BECOME EFFECTIVE:

(LIST OF PROVISIONS TO BE AGREED UPON)

THIS PROTOCOL SHALL BE CONSIDERED AN INTEGRAL PART OF
THE AGREEMENT.

DONE ATON IN TWO COPIES, EACH IN THE
RUSSIAN AND ENGLISH LANGUAGES, BOTH TEXTS BEING EQUALLY AUTHENTIC.

FOR THE UNION OF SOVIET
SOCIALIST REPUBLICS
JOHNSON

FOR THE UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA

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